

## Political participation: theory, methodology, and measurement with the help of the Guttman One-Dimension Continuity Scale

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## **Political Participation: Theory, Methodology, and Measurement with the Help of the Guttman One-Dimension Continuity Scale<sup>1</sup>**

### *Abstract*

*The article deals with the analysis of theory, methodology, and measuring of political participation. The author comparatively scrutinized theoretical problems of genesis, functions, role, and prognosis for the future of this phenomenon in the sociological theory in order to reveal distinguishing characteristics in the existing approaches. Thorough analysis and summarizing of various conceptions relative to political participation, as well as empirical research are offered for the study of transitional society. The definition of political participation, its structure, motivation, main forms and factors, models of stratification in modern conceptions have been comparatively analyzed and systematized as a methodological basis of empirical research. The author elaborated and tested an original approach to the assessment of political participation based on the Guttman one-dimensional continuity scale. Using this approach, the author has calculated the index of political participation (IPP) and constructed four-dimensional model of the political participation stratification in accordance with survey data.*

### **“New Old” Political Realities: Statement of a Task**

In Ukrainian society, the current situation is characterized by the growth in people's participation in political processes, which was pushed

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Translated from the Ukrainian text “Politychna uchast’: teoriia, metodolohiia ta vymiriuvannia iz zastosuvanniam metodu shkalohramuvannia za Hutmanom”, *Sotsiolohiia: teoriia, metody, marketing*, 2005, № 4, pp. 46–72.

by the massive protest actions of the presidential election of 2004 called the Orange Revolution. However, these new political realities — mobilization and intensification of political participation — lead to the problems known to science and discussed in political sociology from 1960s. On the one hand, the intensified political activity develops structures of civil society, forms a strong and well-organized democratic community; on the other hand, it can pose obstacles preventing activity of the power bodies (“strong society — weak state”). According to some researchers (J. Migdal, S. Huntington and others), in countries newly formed and still economically weak, the main collision relates to efficiency of the power under the intensified control by civil society, which requirements do not always correspond to wishes and aims of politicians and representatives of the power. In new countries, the mass political mobilization can significantly lessen due to its pressure, stability, mobility, and efficiency of administrative institutions’ functioning [1, pp. 397–398].

In Ukraine, such contradictions among the power structures make politicians and scientists look for ways of balance between the control over power, meaning the stronger limitations, and immediate effects of the power’s decisions, requiring the maximum freedom of power in selection of means and actions.

At the same time, the national sociology lacks for profound theoretical and methodological analysis of an important index of society’s condition known as a political participation; furthermore, methodological approaches to its measurement are not developed. As a result, the measurements are fragmentary (different indicators are used), results of different studies cannot be compared, measuring scales are not sufficiently correct; thus, the quality, reliability, and validity of measurements are poor. Therefore the author tries to fill these gaps.

Political participation is traditionally considered by researchers to be a kind of behavior and/or individual’s attitude to politics. There are also determined kinds of participation in politics: either it relates only to political *process*, sanctioned, legitimate, or it is taken widely as a participation in political *life* that concerns not only political process, but also unsanctioned, illegitimate, and violent actions. In western sociology, there are two types of political participation with their own structure:

- “Conventional” participation in political process as in the everyday life, legitimate (“within the system and by the law”) activity, when the political system is stable and this participation is “a part of an ordinary democratic political development” [2, p. 149].
- “Unconventional” or the protest participation is registered, as a rule, during political crisis; it could be not against the law but, be-

cause of its extraordinary character, it does not belong to the everyday and natural political process, it has a destabilization potential — creates the social tension [3].

Our study includes the theoretical and methodological analysis, as well as development and approbation of measuring methods (by the example of Kirovohrad) for one of the above-mentioned types — “conventional” political participation.

## **I. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION ANALYSIS**

### **1. Genesis of the Political Participation Phenomenon**

In order to understand the current condition of a social phenomenon, we need to consider its origin. In the case of political participation, it is rather problematic.

As to the classic approach by F. Tönnies, sociality has two consequent stages in its development: “community epoch” and “society epoch”. The first epoch (traditional society) was characterized by him as “country life = custom” where a community is the subject. The second epoch has the following formula: “national life = politics” where a state is the subject [4, p. 247]. As “a custom turns into the law”, then the political participation experience might have followed the experience of participation in rites. Although traditional societies are often thought as lacking for the civic consciousness (a sense of participation), C. Geertz, an expert on cultural anthropology, considers such conclusions to be premature, because the development of civic consciousness from traditional preconditions is not profoundly studied and its roots are still uncertain [5, p. 363]. Will the further studies find any convincing traces of the latent functions of rituals in the development of modern civic consciousness? R. McIver thinks that the tendencies “dissolved” in traditional societies, then “crystallize” in modern ones: “Indians-urkes or andamants have no state; however, to some extent, they are political creatures, as well as religious ones, though they have no church” [6, p. 80].

While studying various traditional societies (Indonesia, Nigeria, *etc.*), C. Geertz states that the court ceremonial was the driving force for their policies; the participation in ceremony was not only a form of politics, but also its content; to rule meant rather to participate in rites than to make decisions: “It was a state-theatre, in which kings and princes

played roles of impresario, priests — directors, while peasants were actors, scene shifters, and spectators” [5, p. 393]. It is interesting that in traditional societies, like modern ones, people were mostly spectators but not participants [5, pp. 262–263]. On the other hand, ceremonies (even burial) were often the fields of participation in political conflicts, when religious symbols enter politics and vice versa [5, pp. 197–200].

Analyzing the participation origin, we should take into account the imitation phenomenon of traditional society when activity is substituted by its imitation. As the studies by C. Levi-Strauss showed, in social systems, that can be manifested as a substitution of social processes by irrational antipodes (“reintegration of content into form”): agriculture is substituted by magic, reproduction of political life — by reproduction of power with the help of ceremonies and rituals [7, p. 373].

Many researchers relate the real “birth” of political participation to the transformation of traditional society, which was reflected in modernization theories. In studies by S. Huntington [8], the growing political participation for traditional societies can be determined according to the political modernization elements: involvement in modernization of those groups, which were formerly outside the social life, their grown “politicization”. The groups, which were traditionally ignored and considered as unsusceptible to politics, become more and more involved in social and political life of society, they manifest their civil and political activity. Political modernization gives scope to political participation of new social groups, because the political consciousness rises among the broad masses of population.

M. Foucault in his studies told that all modern political phenomena had been “born” at the time interval between the Age of Enlightenment and the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the change in power type. From a repressive body with the functions of compulsion, suppression, bans, and punishment (“commands of life and death”), the traditional sovereign power transformed to the modern type — impersonal force without a special center for distribution; it does not “put to death” anymore, it “brings up”, organizes, manages, “supervises life”. These new functions of power were a result of changes happened to the object of its political influence — it is not an individual or a social group anymore, but the population that became the mass after the demographic explosion. The population or the mass cannot be put to death; thus, it should be formed, disciplined, or tamed. As a result, there appear new means for controlling the mass — normalization and discipline technologies for making the mass more like a controlled political body [9, pp. 237–246].

For the power, one of such new means for organization, education, and use of the mass through “its growing usefulness” is political participation—it is like “political normalization and regulation of the mass”. That is why; the power tries to make the mass used to the disciplined activity in politics.

According to K. Mannheim, the real development of political participation starts in the epoch of transformations, i.e. in the industrial society of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The substance of democracy changes crucially: the intensified political participation of all social layers leads to the “fundamental democratization of society” [10, p. 288]. Before that, democracy was only pseudo-democracy, because “it gave the political significance only to small groups in the property and educational spheres” [10, p. 289].

## 2. Political Participation as a Social Phenomenon in Theoretical Sociology

In western theoretical sociology, the place and role of political participation in social and political processes have various definitions. The current theoretical tendencies can be divided into two groups according to its evaluation in society. The first group of theories supposes that political participation affects the condition of society essentially and constructively (**“constructive” approach**). The second group thinks that political participation is an element of social and political show; they stress the gap between its supposed importance and practically worthless role of political participation in society (**“critical” approach**).

It is interesting that two theoretical opponents, such as structural functionalism and the conflict theory, can be included into *the first group*. Both theories (though from different positions) explain the importance of political participation phenomenon in social and political life. Functionalism determines political participation as a way to maintain equilibrium of social system, one of the most important elements of its political subsystem, with the help of which the broad masses of population overcome their estrangement from politics and decision-making. By T. Parsons, politics is one of four subsystems of social system; its function is orientation to the goal, and political participation is the element of this subsystem that ensures political activity for realization of the mentioned function (it makes people work for the goal) [11]. By R. Merton, political participation is a mechanism of “political machine” [12, pp. 451–461]. According to S. Lipset, this mechanism supports the de-

mocracy that is “related to provision of the maximum access for various groups to the structure of decision-making” [13, p. 213]. By B. Barber, political participation is the powerful lever for “balancing the highest social classes’ influence and even for controlling them” [14, p. 237]. Thus, the main function of political participation is to ensure social stability (balance) through realization of political democracy.

Another, but no less constructive, role of political participation is seen by the conflictological paradigm; this phenomenon is considered as one of the sources of development. In the conflict theory, political participation is a manifestation of competition, fight, conflicts, which are general characteristics of society [15, p. 47]. In western democracies, political participation is a kind of institutionalized conflict in politics and, according to L. Coser, it is like an “air-hole”, “the way for canalization of social dissatisfaction and negative emotions” [16, p. 203], necessary for preservation of social structure and improvement of society (positive function). Political participation means regulated and controlled political conflicts, in contrast to destructive conflicts typical for non-democratic societies (spontaneous social explosions). According to R. Dahrendorf, political participation under democracy is “the regulated discussions between classes” substituted for the former open fight; and democracy is the way “to rule through conflicts”, through standing for better “chances of participation” in management [17, p. 163]. Thus, the western society is safe from destructive conflicts; it self-develops on the basis of wide participation of people in political life, which make the most important political decisions and exert influence on politics.

*The second group* evaluates the place and role of political participation in modern societies critically, even skeptically. This approach is thoroughly presented in the integrationism by P. Sorokin, neomarxism (representatives of the Frankfurt school), and left-radical sociology. In these theories, political participation takes the place of exotic democratic addition to the real power of ruling elite. Its role in influence on politics is ephemeral and theatrical; it means that there is no mass’ influence on the elite. This is the conclusion by H. Markuse [18, pp. 146–165]. The real function of political participation is to create illusion of democracy and the majority’s power. Participation in politics is a manifestation of the democracy’s advertisement, “democratic tricks”, which cannot be considered as the majority’s power: “A free citizen is of no importance in politics... The power rules on his behalf and on account of his authority”, P. Sorokin says [19, p. 343]. According to Ch.W. Mills, in western democracies, this can be indicated by the widespread political apathy, as well as indifference of

“merry robots” and “sluggish strangers in politics” [20, pp. 325–328]. By T. Adorno, the reason of such apathy is a poor interest in politics, because, for western people, politics is dull if it is leisure (as distinct from sports, art, *etc.*) and has no results if it is activity (in contrast to work or creative labor); this leads to the undeveloped political competence: uncertainty and confusion in political statements, what is more characteristic of authoritarian and non-democratic regimes. According to T. Adorno, in western democracies, there is a gap between poor political competencies and “the wave of political news overflowing people”, the wave that counts on existence of such a competence [21, pp. 166–171].

Ju. Habermas relates these problems to the sphere of communications and decision-making established in society that distorts everything to such an extent that most people do not know anything about the real distribution of power, control, and political decisions. The existing political communications are “false”, they make it possible to act “over the public’s head”: “democratic” structures, after they have got from the public legitimacy for expressing its interests, start to pursue their own. They avoid the public’s control by deforming communication with the help of misinterpretation, manipulation, and hidden information. Thus, important political decisions are often presented to the public as the fact happened without people’s participation, but on their behalf and of their own free will [22].

Moreover, according to J. Schumpeter, the people’s will expressed in political participation is a product but not the force moving the political process, because it is not real, it is planned, formed by politicians through communications: “...the fact of the matter is that people do not state and solve any problems; on the contrary, the issues determining their fates are usually raised and solved by others” [23, p. 329].

### 3. Social Prognoses on Political Participation

Theoretical prognoses on tendencies of the political participation development are presented in theories of postindustrial societies and sociology of postmodernism, which try to conclude about the prospects of society, basing on new tendencies in social reality. *In most theories of post-industrialism, there are “optimistic” social prognoses on political participation development. But in most postmodernist conceptions, there are “skeptical” ones.*

The post-industrialism theory by D. Bell is characterized by a rather moderate optimism about the development of political participation in



social perspective. The researcher stresses the people's aspiration for more participation in organizations (that will form the conflict potential in the future) registered in modern societies. As a whole, in political aspect of postindustrial society, the main principle relates to the "co-participation, sometimes mobilized or ruled from the top, in other cases, demanded from the bottom". The future will bring "the widened political sphere and more people involved in the processes... and the grown activity results in more groups 'controlling' each other and causing despair" [24, p. 635].

A. Toffler displays more optimism about the "exciting prospects of radical political participation" widening in the super-industrial society of the third wave [25, p. 686]. This "great democratic jump ahead" is not an option but the evolutionary necessity, without which the system cannot work because transition of society to a new complicated level makes political decisions "heavier" and they "will be shared, at last, through the wider democratic participation" [25, pp. 684–686]. One of the important "building blocks for future political systems" should be a transition to the "half-direct democracy" — combination of representation and participation [25, p. 672]. Telecommunication technologies of the future "open, for the first time, an astounding number of ways for people's direct participation in making political decisions" [25, p. 675].

In the "computopia", this name was given to the future society by E. Masuda, electronic communications will get the status of technological base for the real direct democracy of participation; it is aimed to substitute the democracy of parliamentary systems. Development of autonomous information networks has revolutionary benefits: possibility to connect with a sender and take into account the minority opinion. The computerization of political decisions will lead to the situation when communication between participants and accumulation of opinions will continue until the consent is reached. This ensures that all advantages and drawbacks of the political decision being made are balanced and the minority opinion is taken into account [26, pp. 347–348]. Basing on that, the researcher prognoses that political participation will play a key role in the political system of "computopia", classless society, free of monopolized power of the center (the ruling bureaucratic top). The core of the new "polycentric" system will consist of voluntary associations, rather popular even now (communities, communes, free unions) [27, p. 28].

Optimism supported by analysis of a large amount of data can be seen in prognoses on political participation in the information society offered by J. Naisbitt, who tells that the USA are "in the mass transition

from the representative democracy to the participative one” that “revolutionizes America’s local politics and moves from the bottom to the top changing the course of the national government” [28, pp. 228–229]. The sociologist thinks that the political participation started in 1970s, when there were registered, firstly, the unprecedented number of referendums and initiatives — forms of “direct democracy” being the “heart and soul of participative democracy; secondly, intensification of amateur political activity at the local level [28, pp. 228–233]. Moreover, one of the megatrends leading to the future is a transition from hierarchy (pyramid) to the network (horizontal) principle of social institutions structure; this supports development of communitarianism — “society of communities and associations” — and widens the field of democratic participation. All these megatrends confirm the “death of representative democracy”.

Along with the general optimistic prognoses on the widening of political participation, researchers stress the possible risks connected with the application of future technologies, such as development of the total social control system similar to the police state. Its culmination can be the “planned estrangement” of the public from politics [29].

Sociology of postmodernism presents the skeptical view on the political participation prospects registered even now under the “catastrophe of modernity” — the modern society and its policy that lost its object (referent) and exists only for itself (as a simulation) [30]. Such an approach to many political phenomena of postmodernity was greatly influenced by M. Foucault who considered them as products of the modern kind of power. According to this approach, political participation is determined by two functions: for the power, it is an instrument of disciplining the mass that used in politics; for the mass, it is a canalization of dissatisfaction and illusion of effect on the future.

In works by J. Baudrillard, prospects on society development are connected to disappearance of all political as an “aesthetic hallucination of reality” [30, p. 125]; it does not represent anything anymore, exists as an autonomous world of symbols, and is simulated. Social referents (real formations) described by such categories, as “people”, “class”, “proletariat”, have disappeared; only political symbols remain. The only real formation of the postmodern society is the increasing “silent majority” that does not express itself, it is inertial, hyper-conforming; that is why, it destroys not only political representation, but also the whole political process: “For a long time, it seemed that the mass apathy should have been greeted by the power. The power decided that the more passive the mass, the more effectively it could be controlled... However, now consequences

of this strategy turned against the power itself: the mass indifference being so actively supported by the power points to its crash. As a result, strategic orientations of power are radically transformed: instead of encouragement of passivity — push to participation in management, instead of approval to silence — appeals to express opinions. But the time is lost” [31, p. 29]. The power constantly demands participation (in elections, control, parties), makes advances, takes care, influences the mass, but “the silent majority is silent”, it swallows up these appeals and does not become “a conscious participant of political process even for a minute” [31, p. 46]. All the political process, including participation, is a simulation, a show played for people in the street sunk in their private lives to resist political manipulations somehow; in the future, this can lead to the only end — leaving the participation in politics.

In the socioanalysis of postmodern society by P. Bourdieu, there are named the forces, characteristic of the society, being non-classic and “mobilizing” participation in politics — it is not the monopoly on resources of political power (finances, law, *etc.*) anymore; it is the monopoly on production and distribution of political ideas and opinions (political production): “...issues, programs, analyses, commentaries, conceptions, events, from which ordinary people have to select; the people brought down to the ‘customer’ position” [32, p. 182]. This ensures the legitimate symbolic violence and direct manipulations, dictation of a certain understanding as to the participation distribution in the field of politics. In the postmodern society, people’s participation in politics is a mean for reproduction of the legitimate symbolic violence through delegation of authority to empowered persons who later become autonomous and “self-sainted” [33, pp. 242–252].

To conclude the analysis of theoretical prognoses on political participation, we have to say that, in the future, sociological analysis on political participation would be of a greater importance. It is related to the development of its new forms: from “electronic, interactive town halls” by A. Toffler [25, p. 676] to far-reaching social movements by A. Touraine [27, p. 11], especially stressed by A. Giddens in the sixth thesis on the future of sociology [33].

#### **4. On Establishment of the Political Participation Category as a Subject Matter of Sociological Research**

During fifty years, the term *political participation* was going from newspapers to science. At last, it is an independent conception with var-

ious approaches to its analysis. Up to the middle of 1950s, in foreign sociology, political participation was studied mostly as a participation in the governmental management and elections. At the same time, this term has got the status of scientific and become the key one in the categorical apparatus of four sociological conceptions: democracy, modernization, political culture, and the mass society. The interest in political participation grew for various reasons: firstly, it was necessary to explain political processes in the countries that became free and started their modernization; secondly, the methodological paradigm of American political sociology changed (from analysis of institutional structures to research on political behavior) [34, p. 6]; thirdly, in western democracies, there developed structures of civil society. Scientists better understood the “protective” and stabilizing features of the organized political participation; due to this, politicians understood the necessity to stimulate it as a counterbalance, by N.J. Smelser, to the following tendencies: “to roll down to political chaos or to slide to authoritarian or totalitarian regimes” [35, p. 96]. Up to the present, western sociology and political sciences have collected significant experience and traditions concerning the studies on political participation. *The Civic Culture* by G. Almond and S. Verba (1963), which presented the first profound analysis of this category, introduced into research as an indicator of political science.

As to national sociology, there are two periods in studies on political participation: before and after 1991. In the first period, works were written in the traditional soviet manner (including philosophic aspect); political participation was analyzed in two directions: “political activity of workers and of a person in socialist society” and within the critical analysis of western theories on democracy and political culture. Their main conclusion was about the positive role of political participation in the strengthening of socialist democracy, that is why, about the necessity of bringing up this activity as an indicator of the people’s power development under socialism. These works had the following principle drawbacks: firstly, the analysis was conceptually determined by the official ideology; secondly, the empirical data and statistics had nothing to do with the real political behavior of masses; thirdly, the works ignored the organized and formal character of political involvement [36].

In independent Ukraine, there appeared studies, in which the modern (western) understanding of political participation was stated. However, analysis of this phenomenon has only started and this fact is confirmed by lack of special works. At the same time, various researches on political participation are conducted, but the authors of these works

study political participation fragmentarily and as a “side-issue”. In Ukrainian sociology, there was collected significant empirical material on this problem [37], but empirical analysis of various indicators related to political participation has been conducted without any efforts to integrate them with the help of adequate methods; the indicators are considered separately without basing on special theoretical or methodological analysis. At the same time, in Ukrainian sociology, there were studied various kinds, reasons, and factors of political participation, its features in transitional Ukrainian society. Among the conclusions drawn by national sociologists, the following are the most important:

1. The civil society development (“society of those participating in politics”) does not guarantee automatic introduction of democratic institutions (“procedural minimum of democracy”). Also, in social expectations, there is a gap between the ideal of democratic society and democratization realities [38].
2. In transforming society, the level of political participation greatly conditioned by general (anomie, isolationism) and specific post-totalitarian sociopathies (paternalism, ambivalence) [39].
3. In transitional Ukrainian society, there are moderate, though not very well expressed, people’s interest in politics, rather low involvement in organized kinds of political activity, low political efficiency (helplessness against the power), and poor political competence [40; 41].

These results made it possible to conclude about political culture of Ukrainian population, which is, according to Ye. Golovakha, on the scale “totalitarian — democratic”, takes place in the middle being ambivalent [40, p. 104].

## **5. Definition, Structure, and Main Factors of a “Conventional” Political Participation**

In foreign and national works, there is no generally recognized and “canonized” definition of the political participation category. Taking into account common ideas of the most known definitions, the “conventional” political participation can be defined as the real actions through which people are involved in political processes (relations) and influence or try to influence them in the ways normal and/or legitimate in this society [42; 43, p. 189; 44; 45].

Thus, this type of participation includes the popular kinds of involvement in politics regarded as normal and/or legitimate. In existing stud-

ies, there are determined different numbers of these kinds: from four (L. Milbrath) [45] to twelve (S. Verba, N. Nue) [46, p. 95]. Most American sociologists study, as basic ones, the twelve kinds of “conventional” participation suggested by S. Verba and N. Nue:

a) Regular participation in voting at presidential election; b) regular participation in local elections; c) participation in activity of an organization dealing with community issues; d) active participation in solving community problems; e) attempts to convince others of expediency of participation in voting; f) active work, at least sometimes, in favor of certain parties or candidates during elections; g) contacts with representatives of local authorities on certain issues; h) at least, presence at one political meeting or congress for the last three years; i) contacts with a representative of the state or country government on a certain issue; j) participation in establishment of a group or organization for solving local problems; k) financial support of a party or candidate during an election campaign; and l) membership in a political club or organization.

However, we should remember that, in cross-section studies on political culture, the same indicators of political participation of different countries could be incompatible because of qualitatively different cultural contexts [47, pp. 5–7; 48, pp. 99–108]. That is why, it is necessary to select the kinds of political participation corresponding to political behavior of the studied society (the most typical, traditional, widespread, and approved) in order to avoid the situation called by N.J. Smelser the superposition of western categories on nonwestern societies by mentality of nonwestern society researcher who studied western social science [47, p. 5]. M. Dogan and D. Pelassy see solutions of such problems in looking for functional equivalents [48, p. 103] of political participation kinds, which are (in our case) the most popular and typical for Ukrainian context.

**What are the main factors of political participation?** According to all researchers’ opinion, among various factors influencing political participation, the most important one is political effectiveness — realization of possibility to affect political processes. Otherwise, the level of political participation lowers and even, as many empirical studies show, there appear conditions in favor of protest orientations. In stable societies, attitudes to participation of ordinary people in politics are, as a rule, optimistic [46, pp. 236–238; 49, pp. 136–144; 50, p. 100], while in unstable societies, according to empirical studies, skeptical attitudes to people’s opportunities of “conventional” influence on political decisions affecting their direct interests become more and more spread [51, p. 572].

Besides, one of the most important factors of political participation is a repressive political system or existence of real possibilities ("conventional channels") in society for the broad masses of population to take part in political life [52].

Researchers also discuss situational social and personal factors of political behavior [53]. Importance of these factors grows along with changes in postmodern personal perception (contradictory identity). The feeling of continuous self-identity, integrity of the self-image, disappears; identity is perceived as an interrupted self-identity varying from one situation to another. Analyzing the identity, in which there exist "I" and "Another" ("me as another"), P. Ricoeur thinks that, in this case, personal ambivalence, inner discreteness, becomes fixed and, as a result, situativity of behavior intensifies [54].

Studies on involvement in politics of various social and demographic groups made it possible for western researchers, as well as the Ukrainian and Russian, to conclude that political participation has the most stable, strong, and positive correlation with an educational level in all types of society [46, p. 407; 41, pp. 25–26; 44]. That is why, scientists concentrate their attention to political competence of people; the level of political competence is mostly a function of educational level. Political competence, "an ability to accept political issues as political... by answering them politically and proceeding from purely political principles" (P. Bourdieu) [32, p. 103], determines the positions of political participation.

## 6. Motives and Models of a "Conventional" Political Participation

**Motives for political participation** can be divided into the two main kinds:

1. Purely political motives based on people's ideas about the necessity of participation in political life, the feeling of participation (political self-consciousness, the sense of civic duty to participate). This approach is based on analysis of an "ideal citizen" (*homo politicus*). In its classical kind, G. Almond, S. Verba, and N. Nue present the "activist model" of participation in works. According to G. Almond and S. Verba, political participation is supported by "deep adherence to standards of active citizenship" [55, p. 5]. As to the later studies, we would like to note the conception of democratic development by sociologically oriented politologist, R. Putnam; in its center, there is a civil community as an aggregate

of horizontal links between active citizens with high political self-consciousness: "In civil society, though they are not unselfish saints, citizens consider the social sphere to be more than slaughter for observance of personal interests" [49, p. 111].

2. Nonpolitical, instrumental, "rational-selfish" motives for involvement in politics: people take part in politics in order to solve their own problems (to raise their status, to gain prestige, to satisfy their psychological need for communication, to feel their strength and significance). One of the most important theories of rational choice, for us, can be the theory by M. Olsen based on analysis of the mechanism measuring costs for participation and the derived benefit on examples of trade unions, voluntary associations, political parties, etc. In the case of the social welfare distribution, the most popular situation may be "a passenger traveling without a ticket": there is no reason to take part in collective actions if they are of benefit to everyone and not only to participants. For example, if actions of a branch trade union lead to a growth in salaries for all employees and not only for the union members. The forces that can mobilize individuals and bring them to participate, not only in politics, but also in any collective actions, are "selective" stimuli. "Only separate 'selective' stimulus forces a rational individual... to act, says Olsen [56, p. 58]; however, the stimulus has to exceed the costs of participation.

Popularity of nonpolitical stimuli for political involvement was registered by many empirical studies. For example, in the USA, the research group of R. Bellach concluded that political participation is conditioned for many people by "achievement of self-interest" or by the feeling of contact with the others [43, p. 195].

**Models of the political participation positions** are developed on the basis of empirical data related to political behavior of citizens. When we determine people's positions in the field of political participation, we can see the "politicization panorama" of population. Most competent sociologists classify respondents according to the number of kinds of political involvement; they take from three to six participation positions. For example, British sociologists G. Parry and G. Moyser tell about the three main positions of participation in politics as to the British: "ordinary voters" (51%), "active" (25.2%), and "practically inertial" (23.8%) [57]. In American sociology of politics, there are more popular six-dimensional models of political participation. For example, M. Olsen suggests dividing Americans into the following categories: "political leaders" (3%), "activists" (14%), "communicators" (13%), "citizens" (30%), marginal (18%), and "isolated" (22%) [58]. The six-position models were also suggested



by S. Verba and N. Nue [see: 59, p. 73], G. Bone and O. Rennie [43, p. 194]. The “interim option” (a four-dimensional model) for placing people according to their involvement in politics was developed by L. Milbrath with the following groups: “activity of gladiators” (3%), “transitional activity” (7%), “activity of observer” (60%), and “apathetic public” (30%) [45].

The main conclusions about political participation developed according to different empirical models are the following:

1. There is a significant dissimilarity of political involvement.
2. Participation in politics can be presented as a hierarchy.
3. General level of political participation is not high.

As to the common drawbacks of different models, we can say that: firstly, they tend to “tie down” people to a certain position of political participation; secondly, it is methodologically impossible to use them in comparative studies (not only outside western democracies, but even comparing them). That is why, many existing approaches “seem to be naive in the retrospective” [47, p. 6] and hardly could be considered as universal.

## **II. MEASURING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION <sup>1</sup>**

### **1. Structure of the Integral Quantitative Indicator of Political Participation**

After we had analyzed various studies on structural components composing the integral indicator of political participation, we determined eight kinds of possible involvement in politics, which are the most general. The joint real participation of people in these kinds has to determine the level of political participation in society. Taking into consideration the works of N. Nue and S. Verba, L. Milbrath, and Ye. Golovakha, we have compiled a list of empirical indicators representing each of selected kinds. The main criterion applied to the list development was the popularity of political participation kinds in Ukraine. For instance, we did not include in the list the indicator “financial support of a party or candidate during an election campaign” being used in foreign studies; besides, electoral participation is presented not by three indicators (par-

<sup>1</sup>

The author thanks A. Gorbachyk for valuable commentaries and recommendations given within discussion about this part.

ticipation in local, parliamentary, and presidential elections), but only one, because we were interested in voting as a **kind** of participation without taking into account its varieties.

Thus, we selected the most typical, revealing indicators for each of eight kinds of political involvement in Ukrainian society, though not all existing varieties. Moreover, according to Ye. Golovakha and N. Panina, “a researcher has to limit a list of parameters empirically representing an object of the phenomenon studied, because the use of research procedures is limited by organizational potential of empirical research and psychological resources of respondents” [60, p. 20].

In the questionnaire, the question: ***“If we talk about your attitude to politics, can we say that you...?”*** each of eight general kinds of political participation was represented by one indicator. As a result, there was collected a number of factual statements on respondent’s involvement in politics, without reference to certain periods, in order to obtain information about self-identification of their involvement, how they determine themselves in this sense. Thus, the question was accompanied by a number of statements “on attitude to politics” placed in a random way with alternatives “yes” or “no”.

**List of empirical indicators (statements about themselves) for eight different kinds of political involvement:**

1. **Involvement in political and ideological communication** (contacts, communication with political actors): *“You contact (communicate) with activists of social and political movements or parties”*.
2. **Expressive verbal involvement** (to express themselves in talk): *“You talk about politics, discuss political issues”*.
3. **Non-institutional practices of involvement** (non-associated activity in favor of political actors): *“You do something in favor of a certain social and political movement or party (or in favor of a politician, deputy)”*.
4. **Cognitive involvement** (to consume information about politics from mass media): *“You read about politics in newspapers, watch TV, and listen to the radio”*.
5. **Influence on formation of opinions in small groups** (propaganda and agitation for the learned social and political position): *“You try to persuade friends and relatives that your opinion is right”*.
6. **Institutional practices of involvement** (membership in associations of civil activity): *“You are a member of social and political movement or party and take a real part in their activity”*.

7. **Involvement motivated by a “problematic situation”** (“patron-client” relations with political actors to achieve a selfish end, in order to “solve a problem”): *“You apply to the authorities or deputies for solution of a problem”*.
8. **Electoral involvement:** *“You always take part in elections”*.

## 2. Features of Measuring Political Participation

Methodically, the aim of research was, according to Ye. Golovakha [61, p. 13], by “provoking factual self-reports” of respondents about their real political activity in certain forms, to develop an adequate methodical approach and to unite the data collected on all indicators into an integrated index — generalized numerical index of political participation in society.

We selected the methodological approach to meet the aim taking into account the specific feature of political participation: **logic of cumulative involvement of people in politics** that partially is registered by cross-cultural studies [62, pp. 64–65, 222], as well as Ukrainian and Russian researches [41, pp. 27–28; 44].

For example, if we know that an individual voted at the presidential election (one of the most usual and less obliging political actions), then we cannot say that the individual did something in favor of a candidate (because it would be an action more complicated and resource demanding) or, what is more, that the individual is an active member of political party representing a candidate (one of the actions most obliging and resource demanding). However, if we know that an individual did something in favor of a candidate, then we can say that he/she takes part in a less significant political action, like voting, although we cannot be sure that he/she took the next step — entered a political party. At last, if we know that an individual is an active member of a party, we have all grounds to think that he/she did something in favor of the party’s candidate and, of course, took part in voting.

According to J. Manheim and R. Rich, who regarded a similar example, “some kinds of behavior are so connected with each other that to follow one of them needs more efforts than to follow others” [63, p. 256]. That is why, less complicated, less obliging and needing not many resources (time, energy, various means) political actions precede the ones more complicated. Thus, we supposed that numbers of respondents should have dropped along with growth in more complicated kinds of political participation of these respondents.

In this case, we look for a one-dimensional continuum of features related to political participation, being a latent and multi-explicit characteristics, according to a list of its manifestations ordered by their logical connections.

### **3. Methodological Approach to Measuring**

One of the most proved ways for construction of an ordered nominal scale is the method of the continuity scale analysis by L. Guttman [64], the main principles of which were applied to development of methods for measuring. This approach has the following advantages: first, it ensures an adequate procedure for calculating the level of political participation characteristic of a respondents' group; second, it determines the way to assess how a list of political participation kinds corresponds to our idea about their ability to be ordered.

In other words, application of this approach would make it possible to register manifestations of this latent feature (level of political participation) by a number of its indicators, which, according to the theoretical suggestion about the cumulative nature of political participation, should orderly "form" a cumulative hierarchy.

The procedure of construction of the index of political participation on the basis of the Guttman continuity scale analysis consists of several main stages described in details in methodical works [63, pp. 256–262; 65, pp. 175–180]:

1. Respondents are shown the above-mentioned list of eight factual statements about their political involvement, which are supposed to form a one-dimensional continuum. We used the dichotomous nominal scale of answers ("yes" or "no"). Affirmative answers, in which people declared their involvement of a certain kind in politics, got 1 point; negative answers were estimated at 0.

2. According to the scale, final point of respondent is a sum of all points got for each of eight kinds of political involvement. The maximum level of political involvement is 8 points; no involvement at all is estimated at 0, others are between the two poles of the continuity scale.

3. Original sociological data is arranged in a matrix, for construction of the continuity scale, to order respondents by points: from the highest to the lowest. "+" is given to a respondent's answers confirming his/her involvement in politics ("yes"); "-" is given to answers denying political participation ("no").

4. Positions (kinds of political participation) are ordered by the total number of answers to each option from maximum to minimum. Then, the matrix is converted into the continuity scale “stairs” in the way that involvement in more complicated kinds of political participation has to cause the practicing less complicated ones (in descending order). Thus, in the continuity scale, those who got more points are above those with less and so on. We can see whether answers of respondents about their political involvement can be presented as a one-dimensional continuum (“cumulative stairs”)¹.

5. The points that got a respondent in all statements determine his/her range considered as an individual index. Individual ranges of respondents all together form a metric scale; that is why, for a group of people, the index of political participation was adopted as an arithmetic mean of points. The index varies from 0 to 8; the more its number, the higher a level of political participation.

Approbation of this approach was conducted during the public opinion poll in Kirovohrad (March 2004)².

#### **4. Construction of the Scalogram and the Index of Political Participation. Statistical Assessment of the Measurement Reliability and Validity**

##### *Scalogram Analysis*

The scalogram positions (Table 1) are ordered from left to right by decreasing in total number of answers with “+”, that is according to lowering of respondents’ political involvement. The resulting data (the weight of participation in each kind) are presented at the bottom of Table 1 (“Distribution of affirmative answers by the scale positions”).

<sup>1</sup> Without computers, to turn lines of the scalogram, in order to present the continuum as “stairs”, was a complicated and tiring operation. L. Guttman moved color chips corresponding to answers with “+” and “-”. Now these operations have become easy due to the SPSS program.

<sup>2</sup> The Central Ukrainian Sociological Laboratory, V. Vynnychenko Kirovohrad State Pedagogical University, conducted the survey. The sample consisted of 420 respondents. The sampling was a quota, representative for adult population of Kirovohrad according to sex and age (from 18 to 75). The method was an individual standardized interview at a place of residence. While  $p = 0.95$ , the sample standard deviation was 5%.

**Table 1**

**Construction of the Guttman Scalogram with the Data of Study  
on Political Participation of Kirovohrad Population (N = 420)**

SCALOGRAM POSITIONS (KINDS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION)								<i>Answers without mistakes</i>			
8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	<i>Frequen- cy (%)</i>	<i>Number of mis- takes</i>	<i>Weight of answers with mis- takes</i>	<i>Range (points)</i>
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	4 (1.0)	0	0	8
-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	3 (0.7)	0	0	7
-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	4 (1.0)	0	0	6
-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	13 (3.1)	0	0	5
-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	81 (19.3)	0	0	4
-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	70 (16.6)	0	0	3
-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	46 (10.9)	0	0	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	41 (9.8)	0	0	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29 (6.9)	0	0	0
<i>Examples of answers with mistakes</i>								<b>Answers with mistakes</b>			
								<i>Frequen- cy (%)</i>	<i>Number of mis- takes (j)</i>	<i>Weight of answers with mis- takes (n<sub>j</sub>)</i>	<i>Range (number of respon- dents)</i>
-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	100 (23,8)	1	100	6 (1) 5 (15) 4 (11) 3 (27) 2 (19) 1 (27)
-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	15 (3,6)	2	30	6 (3) 4 (3) 3 (1) 2 (8)
+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	9 (2,1)	3	27	5 (7) 3 (1) 2 (1)
+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	5 (1,2)	4	20	4 (5)

**Table 1 (end)**

<b>Distribution of affirmative answers by the scale positions</b>								<i>Total number of answers with mistakes</i>	<i>Maximal number of mistakes</i>	<i>Summed weight of answers with mistakes</i> $\sum_{j=1}^4 n_j$	<i>The Guttman coefficient of reproducibility (CR)</i>
19 (4,5 %)	20 (4,8 %)	42 (10,0 %)	43 (10,2 %)	167 (39,8 %)	249 (59,3 %)	318 (75,7 %)	331 (78,8 %)	129 (30,7%)	4	177	0,95

So, the eight factual statements about respondents' involvement in politics are ordered according to complexity of participation kinds in the following way:

1. "You always take part in elections".
2. "You read about politics in newspapers, watch TV, and listen to the radio".
3. "You talk about politics, discuss political issues".
4. "You try to persuade friends and relatives that your opinion is right".
5. "You apply to the authorities or deputies for solution of a problem".
6. "You contact (communicate) with activists of social and political movements or parties".
7. "You do something in favor of a certain social and political movement or party (or in favor of a politician, deputy)".
8. "You are a member of social or political movement or party and take a real part in their activity".

Every line of the scalogram represents a group of respondents who gave a certain combination of answers to all eight statements. The first line represents 1% of respondents whose answers display their maximal involvement in political life. The second line represents 0.7% of those who is involved in all kinds of political life apart from the option 8, etc. Thus, the first nine lines of the scalogram represent those combination of answers, which totally confirm the supposed idea about order relationship between all eight kinds of political participation, that is they form a one-dimensional continuum reflected in the scalogram by "stairs". These nine groups of respondents, placed along the "stairs" in the scalogram, form the types of ideal scale.

However, the scalogram cannot be considered as ideal because 129 of 420 respondents gave answers with deviations from ideal distribution, which are usually called mistakes (the column “Total number of answers with mistakes”). These groups of respondents are represented in the lines 10–13 not intersecting the “stairs”<sup>1</sup>. Mistakes are not negligence of respondents but lack of correspondence in the order relationship being the main condition of the Guttman scaling. For example, a respondent being a member of political party is not interested in politics presented by mass media. V. Yadov calls such situations paradoxes — “those who can multiply but cannot add...” [65, p. 179]. That is, fulfilling more complicated action, the person does not fulfill the one less complicated and logically implied. Such paradoxes make construction of ideal scalogram practically impossible.

### *Construction of the Index of Political Participation (IPP)*

In the last column — “Range” (Table 1) — groups of respondents related to ideal types of the scale were ordered by range of points (from 8 to 0), which they got after we had summed the answers with “+” for all statements. According to the Guttman approach, we sum answers of the whole sample, including the groups of respondents whose answers were with mistakes.

Taking into account the data of the whole set (Table 2) and scaling by Guttman, we can unite those political participation indicators, acceptable for the natural ordering, into a single whole — index of political participation calculated as an arithmetical mean of points collected by respondents.

While interpreting the calculated index, we can refer to the ideal values (Table 3) according to the logic of ideal types of the Guttman scale. A value of index can be referred to the corresponding level of political participation. Also, as we mentioned above, the algorithm of scaling by Guttman supposes that a higher level of political participation includes involvement in all kinds of participation of lower levels because there is an order relationship between them.

<sup>1</sup>

The full scalogram consists of 129 lines that is equal to the number of respondents who “made a mistake”, thus, we can see where the deviation is for each of them. The lines 10–13 present typical examples of such deviations from the cumulative order, but the data for this part of respondents are completely presented in the numerical part of the scalogram. For example, the line 10 shows that 100 respondents made one mistake, one respondent of them had the range 6, etc. So, the “mistakable” respondents are distributed into different groups according to the number of their mistakes and their range; this is necessary for further calculations.



**Table 2**

**Statistics of the Index of Political Participation (IPP)  
for Population of Kirovohrad**

<i>Collected points (according to the kinds of political involvement), % of respondents</i>									<b>In- dex*</b>	$\sigma^{**}$	<i>Me- dian</i>	<i>Mo- de</i>
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8				
6,9	16,2	17,6	23,6	23,8	8,3	1,9	0,7	1,0	2,83	1,59	3,00	4,0

\* — Points (an arithmetical mean), scale 0–8;

\*\* — Standard deviation

**Table 3**

**Ideal Values for Indices of Different Kinds and Levels of  
Political Participation according to the Guttman Scale**

<i>Kinds of political participation</i>	<i>Correspond- ing levels of political par- ticipation</i>	<i>Ideal values for indi- ces (In points)</i>
Institutional practices of participation	High	8,00
Non-institutional practices of participation		7,00
Participation in ideological communication		6,00
Participation motivated by a “problematic situation”	Middle	5,00
Influence on formation of opinions in small groups		4,00
Expressive and verbal participation		3,00
Cognitive involvement	Low	2,00
Electoral involvement		1,00
Absence of involvement in any kind of participation		0,00

The scalogram analysis of empirical data makes it possible to hierarchically organize people's group by their involvement in politics. Hierarchy of political participation (high, middle, and low levels) is determined according to the kinds of participation requiring different expenses of

time, energy, and resources: a lower level corresponds to the kinds, which do not require significant individual contribution to politics.

Of course, this approach is very relative but, in our opinion, it enables to differentiate and characterize levels of “politicization” on the basis of determined value of index.

### *Statistical Evaluation of the Scale Reliability and Validity*

Since almost a one third of respondents (30.7%) gave answers with deviations from ideal distribution, we had to understand whether this error was so serious that it meant that there was no expected order between statements or the error was harmless and could be set aside<sup>1</sup>. Conclusions about constructive validity and reliability of the measuring scale were drawn with the help of the Guttman coefficient of reproducibility (**CR**) calculated according to the formula<sup>2</sup>:

$$\mathbf{CR} = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^4 n_j}{i \times N} = 1 - \frac{100 + 30 + 27 + 20}{8 \times 420} = 1 - \frac{177}{3360} = 1 - 0,05 = 0,95,$$

$n_j$  — number of answers in lines with mistakes;

$i$  — number of scale points;

$N$  — total number of respondents (sample).

All the numbers used for calculation of **CR** are presented by the scalogram (Table 1). The numerator,  $\sum n_j$ , is a total number of **existing real** mistakes (summed weights of mistakes); the denominator,  $i \times N$ , is the total number of **all possible** mistakes (when any statement or respondent is not confined to the scale). Thus, the formula makes it possible to evaluate the portion of all mistakes. Having subtracted this quantity from 1, we get the portion of “faultless” entering in the scale. So, our calculated coefficient of reproducibility (**CR**) for the constructed scale was 0.95. The Guttman scale is accepted as reliable if the coefficient is no less than 0.90.

<sup>1</sup> In contrast to additive scales (like the Likert scale), reliability and validity of which are determined by correlation of positions and their inner consistency, the specific feature of scaling by Guttman is that there is control over the scale reproducibility. That is why, the correlation coefficient (Pearson's) of scale's positions and Cronbach's alpha cannot be applied in this case.

<sup>2</sup> In 1947, Loevinger offered a formula for the homogeneity index for two questions of questionnaire and a similar formula for the homogeneity index for all questions of questionnaire. There are multidimensional models for evaluation of the Guttman scalogram firstly regarded by Coombs (conjunctive model), factor-analytical tests, but many of them exceed the resolvability of original data.

Besides, we reconstructed the scalogram in order to check its reproducibility. In two months, we interviewed 100 citizens of Kirovohrad in the same way. **CR** was 0.94; it means that the comparable reproducibility of the scalogram exists.

### *General Characteristics of Political Participation in Kirovohrad*

The data collected within the interrogation (March 2004), as a result of the method approbation, make it possible: firstly, to analyze the hierarchy of political participation kinds, from the most to the least popular; secondly, to determine the proportions of groups consisting of respondents with the same involvement in politics; thirdly, to determine the level of political participation for the population as a whole:

1. In Kirovohrad, people demonstrated mostly the following kinds of involvement in politics (see the bottom of Table 1): electoral (78.8%), cognitive (75.7%), expressive and verbal (59.3%). To a small extent, the citizens were involved in political practices — institutional (4.5%) and non-institutional (4.8%).

2. Table 2 shows that practically equal numbers of respondents are involved in three and four kinds of political participation, they together amount approximately to 50% (bimodal distribution). 7% of people are totally “excluded” from politics. Very few respondents (only 3.6%) are involved simultaneously in six and more kinds of political participation.

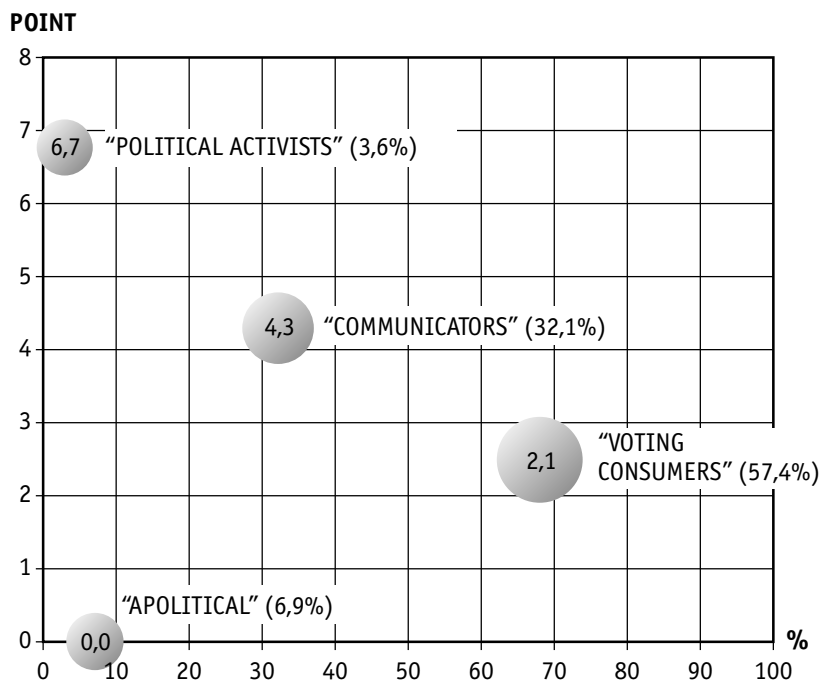
3. For the population of Kirovohrad, the index of political participation is 2.83 points. If we compare it to ideal values of the index (Table 3), it would be “below middle” or approaching the bottom of the “middle level”; this could be also confirmed by the median value — 3.00 (Table 2). As to the kinds of political participation, citizens of Kirovohrad are mostly involved in electoral and cognitive ones. Expressive and verbal involvement was characteristic to a lesser extent.

## **5. Construction of Empirical Model for Stratification of Political Participation**

As it was said above, political participation can be empirically brought to a hierarchy; thus, depending on levels of “politicization”, we can hierarchically differentiate people’s positions in a vertical field of political participation.

We took into account a substantial contribution to the study of political participation made by foreign researchers who regard from four to six

categories of people according to their involvement in politics. As a result, the population of Kirovohrad was divided into four categories (positions of political participation) with a statistically significant difference in IPP ( $p < 0.01$ ). This example of empirical model for stratification of political participation positions is represented graphically (Figure 1).



X-axis — the scale: 0–8 points; Y-axis — % of respondents; Circles (categories of respondents) contain values of the index of political participation (points).

Fig. 1. Stratification of positions in the field of political participation (Kirovohrad example)

Determination of these positions and their interpretation were based on ideal values of indices for various kinds and levels of political participation (Table 3). According to the IPP values, the population of Kirovohrad can be divided into the following categories:

1. "Excluded" from politics ( $0 \leq \text{IPP} \leq 1$ ).
2. Low level of involvement in politics ( $1 \leq \text{IPP} \leq 3$ ).
3. Middle level of involvement ( $3 \leq \text{IPP} \leq 6$ ).
4. High level of involvement ( $6 \leq \text{IPP} \leq 8$ ).

## *Characteristics of the Political Participation Positions*

**1. Position of the category with a high level of political involvement** (IPP = 6.7 points)<sup>1</sup> — **“political activists”**. People of this category are characterized by a high level of “politicization” and involved practically in all kinds of political participation: from electoral to various kinds of communication (including ideological) and political practices, including the highest kind — direct participation in institutionalized political activity.

**2. Position with a middle level of political participation** (IPP = 4.3 points)<sup>2</sup> — **“communicators”**. This category collects those who are “excluded” from political practices. They do not advance beyond communication kinds of political participation within the small groups, which they belong to. They try to influence formation of opinions in these groups by propaganda of the learnt social and political position (“they try to persuade people that their own opinions are right”). Of course, they are involved in all “preceding” kinds of participation: electoral, cognitive, expressive and verbal. For this category, the culmination of political participation could be contacts with political actors (officials, deputies) in order to solve their “problematic situation”.

**3. Position with a low level of political participation** (IPP = 2.1 points)<sup>3</sup> collected those called **“voting consumers”**. Their political involvement is limited mainly to electoral and cognitive kinds (consumption of information about politics from mass media). For this category, the culmination of political participation could be expressive and verbal activity (“express themselves in talk”).

**4. Position of people estranged from the main kinds of political participation** (IPP = 0), who even do not take part in elections. They are called **“apolitical”**. However, we should not overestimate such an estrangement in the real life. Political behavior is characterized by the feature similar to the one called by G. Almond and S. Verba “interrupted and potential nature of involvement” [55]. In our study, it means some potential of episodic, fragmentary electoral and cognitive involvement of the “apolitical” (*e.g.* they may vote occasionally or watch a political talk show).

While giving interpretations on political participation, one has to remember the conclusion based on experience of various studies: **posi-**

<sup>1</sup> Standard deviation = 0.9.

<sup>2</sup> Standard deviation = 0.4.

<sup>3</sup> Standard deviation = 0.8.

**tions of people cannot be strictly localized in the field of political participation.**

*Firstly*, political behavior of individuals is changeable; even if we take into account the most possible factors affecting political participation, the behavior is still situational and sporadic by nature [66].

*Secondly*, political participation is of a cyclic nature ("cycles of high-low involvement"), this can be the reason of its sporadic manifestations (impulsiveness), like situations when people estranged from politics ("apolitical"), those who are not interested, suddenly become not only "voting consumers", but even "political activists" [55].

*Thirdly*, significance of different issues rarely grows evenly for all social and demographic groups; that is why, in some cases, for example, "communicators" of aged group can become "political activists", while in other cases, they are "voting consumers".

Thus, we have to take into account possible changes in the current picture of political behavior in order to avoid inadequate conclusions about strong determination of the political participation positions, which are, according to P. Bourdieu, determined not by their strict localization but by relations with other positions; therefore could be understood through correlation, comparison, and contrasting with each other [32, p. 25].

Application of the Guttman scaling, in our opinion, makes it possible: first, to study more productively the order of people's involvement in politics, due to which we can have a clear idea of the logic of this process and its ordered structure; second, to determine and compare different social and demographic groups according to their involvement in politics (by level of "politicization"); third, to measure levels of political participation for various societies (index); fourth, to differentiate people's positions in the vertical field of political participation (empirical model of stratification).

Moreover, the suggested methodical approach enables to apply widely mathematical and statistical methods, e.g. for analysis of political participation factors, as well as to conduct comparative and monitoring studies, which are very important for development of empirical, theoretical, and methodological analysis of political participation.

Of course, the presented work does not include all aspects of theory, methodology, and measurement of political participation, but it provides a productive approach to its integral theoretic and methodological understanding and methodically grounded analysis of this phenomenon in sociological studies.

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